

A SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY

In approaching this topic, I have had a feeling of compulsion to resort to definition of terms as an opening gambit. This I am resisting, yielding only to the degree that I may provide a simple framework of reference for the discussion to follow. Throughout my remarks, I shall attempt to emphasize the thesis that there is in this Institute theme THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE AS A COMMUNITY RESPONSIBILITY, the recognition of an inter-dependence between all segments of the American community, in the administration of justice and in other phases of community development which contribute constructively to democratic living.

The extension and guarantee of Justice is not alone a function of law enforcement agencies. It embraces nearly every aspect of man's relation to his fellowman; the granting of another's right to dignity, to self respect, to growth and development, to participation in the benefits of a free society; giving assurance of his right to dream and to have those dreams come true. Justice cannot be seen and measured in a vacuum nor as an absolute. In all human affairs it is a relative concept whose definition in a particular time and place is an index as to the maturity of a culture and of the people who have fashioned the culture. It gives a measure of the integrity with which the rules of inter-personal and inter-group relations are defined and observed. It is the yardstick by which a society determines its present stature, its rate of growth and its expectations in terms of safety, security,

stability and strength. Like such concepts as "Freedom" and "Democracy," it is a goal toward which men constantly work; a dream, a hope; not ever fully attainable because of ever advancing demands, expectations, aspirations. Yet, in its attainment to the highest level and the widest application, lies the only hope of this civilisation. Surely this imposes a tremendous burden of responsibility upon a society, even in the single interest of self-preservation.

The maintenance of law and order, and the administration of justice as broadly defined, have a high degree of correlation. In a community where justice operates in a capricious, prejudicial fashion, there will be found serious problems in the maintenance of law and order. In like measure, where the peace and tranquility of a community are threatened, deeply within those areas of rebellion or of irresponsibility may be found evidence - or a deeply-seated belief - that justice does not prevail.

Wherever irresponsibility or rebellion has threatened or interrupted the peace of a community, invariably it has been traceable to the shirking of duty by many elements in that community. Religious leadership may charge it to public apathy; citizens generally may blame the political leadership; police will cite a condition of general lawlessness chargeable to abdication of parental authority, or general cussedness of particular groups in the population; the press will point to

inefficiency in the police force. Full circle of charge and counter-charge will have been drawn; all may be right in terms of identifying some of the important factors in the decline of community pride; but all are wrong in pursuing efforts to fix blame elsewhere than within their own realms of responsibility and competence.

Each is wrong, too, in criticising others in the community, on the basis of their own unrealistic levels of expectation of others. The clergy may expect much higher levels of civic participation from the general public; the public always expects and demands higher performance from political leaders than its own apathy can justify; the press, forever seeks news of deviations from perfection, the sensational, the unfavorable side of socio-political developments and of police performance; and all seem to expect highly motivated, middle-class urban-oriented performance from that part of the public least exposed to these values, ^{to} which are attached the more disturbing statistics of arrests, violations and convictions. This segment of the population, whose needs, experiences, fears and desires are of least importance to the whole community, turn their frustrations and dissatisfactions upon the police who, to them, are the highly visible representatives of an invisible and hostile society.

Two eminent Americans have commented upon unrealistic levels of

expectations generally though unconsciously accepted in our nation. Just a year ago at the 5th Annual Texas A & M Police and Community Relations Institute, Chief Bernard Gervais of the Tucson (Ariz.) Police Department, said of public expectations of police: ^{1/}

".....a police officer must have the mind of a lawyer - the soul of a clergyman - the heart of a social worker - the discipline of a Marine sergeant - the integrity of a Saint. He must believe in a community of law, while seeing little but lawlessness; believe in the goodness of man, while seeing man most often at his worst - work in a community of men who resent his presence but depend on his faithfulness - know his city like a sociologist, understand people like a psychologist - take the long view of life like a philosopher, and yet never lose his common touch."

The noted author John Steinbeck was quoted in the Saturday Review a few years ago, in a comment upon the Negro segment of our population. Under the title "The Black Man's Ironic Burden", Mr. Steinbeck also listed a great number of high expectations imposed by society upon this group; ^{2/} I quote just a few:

^{1/} Proceedings of the 5th Annual Texas A & M Police and Community Relations Institute, August 1962

^{2/} Saturday Review (April 1961)

"We expect Negroes to be wiser than we are, more tolerant than we are, braver, more dignified, more self-controlled and self-disciplined; they must be 10 times as gifted to receive equal recognition; have more endurance than we in athletics, more courage in defeat, more rhythm and versatility in music and dancing, more controlled emotion in theater. We expect them to obey rules of conduct we flout, to be more courteous, more gallant, more proud, more steadfast."

You who are Police and I happen to be members of these two highly visible "minority" groups. Each of us has developed a high degree of sensitivity to and rejection of these unrealistic levels of expectation, of which we have been made victims. Nevertheless, each of us, by our own hypercritical assessment of the other in most test areas, unconsciously express the expectations we demand of the other - whether or not we really expect high level performance. As a result of this mutually critical attitude, each is much more easily irritated by the lapses of the other; our impatience shows more easily; we voice our dissatisfactions more readily; and we can engage in recrimination and conflict on slight provocation. Just like cousins, if you'll forgive the expression! Meantime, the rest of the family, which is the community around us, urges us on in our perennial disagreements with a "Let's

you and him fight!" kind of encouragement.

At this point I should like to bring this discussion down to the level of the specific problem of Police and the Negro segment of the American community - not to plead a cause on the racial front, as such, - but that I may be in position to relate particular examples and examine particular problems in a concrete form, as distinct from discussing some of these issues in the abstract. I think this is a legitimate approach if my earlier references to justice and to law and order are considered to be valid. It just happens that I have been a Negro longer than anything else, so my experiences have been more varied in this area. I believe there would be the same degree of validity to this approach if we were to use the example of Indians in reservation country, Spanish speaking people in the Southwest or the eastern seaboard, or other highly visible minorities in other parts of the country. This is so because it is in the living experiences of these peoples of high visibility that we find the more pronounced examples of dislocation, of separation, of deprivation or lack of belongingness. It is here that unemployment is highest and where under-employment reduces annual income to 50% or less of that of the so-called majority group worker; it is here that housing discrimination is greatest, and the otherwise routine task of finding decent shelter for a family becomes a maddening experience. It is here that things most of us take for granted - availability of

reasonably good schools for our children, of ordinary recreational facilities, of convenient stations in which to secure food, drink and shelter - are withheld for no other reason than one's racial or ethnic identification. And, it is in such groups that we find reflected the highest rates of arrest in any metropolitan center in America.

In your community, and mine, unless it is a very exceptional community with respect to the meeting of responsibility on its many levels, ^{we} ~~you~~ presently are concerned about delinquency and crime rates. The more you and the press and the political leaders and the clergy pass the buck around the circle, the more directly implicated minority group elements in the community become. The characteristic defensiveness of those of minority group status becomes accentuated; the nature of contact between them and the Police, individually and collectively, creates more sensitivity and more defensiveness, and again we have completely rounded out the vicious cycle of charge and counter-charge, of action and reaction.

In an Eastern city which shall be nameless, a new Chief of Police in one of his early public statements, announced his intention of "cracking down on Black Muslims". There had been no public demonstrations by Muslims warranting a line of type in local newspapers; however many Muslims may currently be residing in the community, there have been no group actions that would justify a crusade

against the sect. The announcement, however, did serve to suggest, from the background of a long, painful history, that any Negro coming into the coils of the law would be subject to different and harsher treatment. The Chief's next pronouncement was that of his intention to put police-dogs into serve. Even before occurrence of the recent Alabama and Mississippi incidents, Negroes had learned that police dogs represent a particular threat to them and to their civil liberties. It must be remembered that dog's have played a dramatic, if not tragic, role in the South's oppression of the Negro throughout the slave regime and since, and all the Negro world has been touched by this history. The inhuman use of vicious dogs against those non-violent demonstrators certainly has not lessened their fears and suspicions.

It was not surprising, then, that Negroes in this community and their allies, increased the volume of their complaints of "police brutality", induced perhaps as much by fear as by any particular incidents, and began pressing for creation of a Citizens' Review Board. An official Human Relations Commission, which had come into being a number of years ago in answer to similar political pressures of disadvantaged minorities, supported the petition for a Review Board. This official position was taken because of the inability of the director, appointed several years before by the Mayor, to establish any satisfactory communication with the Police in meeting just such situations.

The reaction of the Police has been an interesting study of the need for and almost complete absence of channels of communication between police and

the minority community. It also provided a rather frightening demonstration of cynical disregard for basic democratic practices, values and ethical standards. Day after day, the press was provided by police circles with hysterical charges of Communist and criminal influence being responsible for the movement with blistering personal attacks upon the individuals associated with the petition for a Review Board. A federal government official felt job pressures from above because of his advocacy of a Review Board given in his capacity as an individual civic worker in his home community; respected clergymen found themselves blanketed in a general accusation that "only the criminal element is seeking this means of destroying police effectiveness." The Director of the Mayer's Commission, himself a respected human relations professional who had given many years of effective service to the community, was the target of a concerted attack by the Chief of Police, the PBA, the Superior Officers' Association, the Fraternal Order of Police, and two or three other satellite organizations - all demanding summary dismissal from city service and a rescinding of the ordinance that had created the Commission.

Nowhere had there been any proposal or move toward resolving differences through conference or conciliation; there was no presenting of logical and reasonable arguments by Police leadership against the petition or in meeting the fears which prompted the movement; no inclination was shown to search out the motivations of

so many responsible citizens who had expressed a need for some form of central clearance of police-community problems. The one idea disclosed by every public move by Department heads was that of eliminating the opposition, intimidating the protestors, applying power politics through threat of loss of job, or of respectability in the eyes of the larger community. They who demanded liberty for themselves, resorted to calumny and intimidation of others, and urged denial of their freedom of speech, as a contribution to the state of human relations in that particular community. Situations of this kind bring to mind a statement made by President Kennedy in a speech to Latin America in 1962, when he said: "Those who make peaceful revolution impossible, make violent revolution inevitable." 3/

Please understand that this reference to a Police Review Board in no way is intended as a pitch for or against such an instrumentality. Personally, I am quite ambivalent on the subject, because I've never heard anything in many discussions of the topic that suggested a consensus of what is a Review Board - what would be its duties, responsibilities, limitations, authority. If it is intended to mean a body of civilians who, publicly or privately and through application of hindsight, would have authority to pass judgment upon an act of an

officer who has been accused of misuse of police authority, while working under pressure in a tense, demanding situation - then I would be vigorously opposed to such procedure. I have too high regard for the manly, courageous, efficient way the average police officer faces up to the severe demands society places upon him, to see him exposed to this experience. If on the other hand, it is intended to mean a body of civilians and officers serving together to provide a medium of communication and interpretation, through which confidence of the minority group community could be regained, then I can say that I would be glad that some such reasonable machinery were available in the community from which I have drawn this example.

The foregoing recitation refers to an actual situation, but I admit that it may be out of the ordinary. It does serve to highlight some of the natural elements of conflict which characterize problems of law enforcement in American cities. The minority community, with its serious social, economic and political disadvantages, is confronted by uniformed symbols of society - a society that has reduced the minority to its level of dissatisfaction. This uniformed symbol the Police, possesses a power and an authority that historically are interpreted as having been used against rather than for the group's interest. It is not necessary for this power to be misused regularly or constantly, to have reinforced the

suspicion and fear that memory of other times and other places has created. Only one unfortunate incident will supply this reinforcement; that is - if there is no positive, constructive effort being given toward the building of confidence to offset the suspicion that prevails.

Repeatedly we see enacted the drama growing out of natural conflict to be found in this confrontation. At the core of each conflict situation is the human tendency to equate "my rights" with "his responsibilities". A rational approach is that of consideration of "our respective rights", then on to the natural next step of "our respective responsibilities" toward achieving these rights. Constructive implementation of a sense of our respective responsibilities is that which develops the concept of "community", involving as it must, the interdependence of all for the common good. Essential to this development is mutual respect for the rights of others, assured only where there is healthy communication.

In contrast to this foregoing example, I know of a number of Police departments in different parts of the country which have begun to recognize Human Relations to be as important an area of study for their personnel as are the more technical aspects of police work. Among these, too, are the departments which have employed specialists in human relations under whose leadership a closer communion with citizens of the community may be developed. That these departments stand out as the exception rather than the rule, throughout America, indicates that

still there are those in Police work who look upon this kind of emphasis as a lot of "do-gooder" hogwash, firmly believing that police should be exposed only to sterner stuff. Not long ago, two highly qualified social scientists and I were engaged by a large municipal Police department to conduct a series of lectures on human relations, in a long-deferred in-service refresher course for all personnel. Sessions were chaired by a Deputy Chief of Police who was approaching retirement age. At the close of each session, when the three specialists had given their very best accumulation of knowledge on the subject, the Deputy Chief closed the session with his own interpretations, all of which served to deny, refute, dispose of every valid bit of information presented by the specialists; his premise being that the practical experience he had acquired in years of police work gave him the best possible knowledge of human relations problems - at least as much as Police are required to know!

In the case of the increasing number of Departments that are working constructively in developing human relations understandings, there is evidence of a desire to learn from authoritative sources, in order that through the understanding that may be acquired, they may cope more effectively with the complex problems of tension in today's metropolitan areas. These efforts too, are resulting in the training of an impressive number of police who themselves are providing competent human relations skills to Department training and administrative operations. But - there also are those Police who insist upon judging the phenomena of this trying period with a singular harsh standard

^{of} values which conveniently ignores the abnormal conditions out of which problems have sprung, and with equal harshness seek to abandon to oblivion those human beings who spiritually and physically have succumbed to the forces which have caused them to be out of step with society. In which of these reactions is to be found evidence of the greater, the more realistic, sense of responsibility?

I had indicated earlier that my preoccupation in this paper with so-called minority groups, is due to the high incidence of anti-social behavior in minority group ghettos, as disclosed by statistics on delinquency and crime, and as seen in the day-to-day experience of police officers. What of these minority groups? Where do they stand with respect to recognizing and accepting a sense of responsibility?

In scores of Police-Community relations conferences which I have been privileged to attend over the past fifteen or more years, one of the inevitable questions has been "Well, what is the Negro doing to improve himself?". The question serves first of all to disclose the grave need for communication between Police and the Negro minority, in some other relationship than that of arresting officer and Negro violator or suspect. Certainly the question is an implied confession of ignorance of what is transpiring behind the ghetto walls; and it implies also that minority group leadership is possessed of some magic quality

to sooth its angry people, heal deep psychological wounds, provide sustenance and inspiration for its marginal rebels, preach away dissatisfaction no matter how deep-seated - - - something that society has been unable to do for the whole population even when it possesses the necessary tools, facilities and means for aiding the healing process. Last I appear to you to be defensive in answering my own question, I wish to assert that the more fortunate members of any society bear great responsibility for aiding the less fortunate members of that society, and this applies to minorities as well as to the community generally. But this assertion still does not answer the question. What then is the responsibility of Negro leadership - that amorphous segment of a mysterious world that exists apart from everything we know? Is it to aid the group become more economically independent and self-sustaining? But, they don't own nor control the factories, banks and commercial establishments, nor direct the policies of labor unions. Even if a racially separated economy were possible or desirable, they have not the means of employing all workers, building their own housing, supplying their own needs. Is it their responsibility to see that more of the group secure education adequate enough for competitive purposes? But they do not own the schools and academies and colleges, nor have they even been able to gain admission to such institutions in parts of the country where the group need is greatest. (However,

you may be interested...) Perhaps they can work for development of higher standards of group morality and social behavior? This question intrigues many whose acquaintance with minority group life is limited to sensational articles, or as with the Police, to contact only with the lower socio-economic levels in conflict situations. My interest was caught by a comment by Dr. L. D. Savits of Temple University in an article "Factors Influencing Crime Rates of Negroes," ^{4/} as follows:

"Even assuming that every arrest in a given year involves a different person, and that every arrest results in conviction, it is clear that well over 90% of the Negro population are law-abiding citizens. Since these assumptions are unwarranted (that is, every arrest does not involve different persons and every arrest does not lead to conviction), the estimate of 90% is decidedly conservative."

The logic of this statement does not pretend to ignore the disproportionate rate of Negro involvement with Police, but it does serve to attack the validity of existing stereotypes that would place the Negro group as a whole (or the Mexican

^{4/} A Study prepared for and edited by the Commission on Human Relations, City of Philadelphia; December 1962 - Page 2.

or the Puerto Rican or the Indian) in the criminal class. Nevertheless, in 65 Urban League local offices and in hundreds of NAACP branches, youth group activities are being promoted, toward the difficult task of lifting the sights of Negro youth above the sordid, mean, unpromising horizon which greets their eyes from the limits of the racial ghetto and its de-facto segregated school. Through various other community activities, the League's reaching the reachable with programs designed to accelerate the adjustment to independent city life of so many Negroes who have come out of a feudal, rural society in recent years. Negro churches are struggling as churches in all groups and denominations must struggle, to hold attention and do constructive work; fraternities and sororities are making their contributions through scholarships and other aids, however limited and unsatisfactory. Those who are doing these humble tasks, under difficult circumstances and against a rising tide of youthful cynicism, themselves must fight against terrific odds in order to retain their own faith.

A recent Television program brought this out very sharply. A public affairs discussion program presented the noted Malcolm X, youthful and fiery spokesman for the Black Muslims, in an exchange of views with a well-educated Brooklyn Negro clergyman. On the panel were two white men and a Negro PhD, former college professor and high New York State official. Malcolm X, in his usual

emotional tirade, repeated and re-emphasized the endless story of white exploitation of black people, particularly in America. According to Malcolm X, there is no meeting ground between the races, nothing in common, no hope for cooperation and peace. The two University trained Negroes sharing the program were in violent disagreement with the Muslim philosophy, expectations and conclusions; yet in analysing what was being said throughout the hour-long program, one was brought to a realization that neither of the college-trained, conciliatory, "reasonable" men was able to deny the truth of Malcolm X's assertions, refute his recitation of wrongs or offer any concrete promise of change. The one single thing which separated them in their views and conclusions was the word "Hope." Malcolm and his sect have ~~lost~~ lost theirs; the others still retain theirs - - the experiences, study, faith of all three Negroes had undergone the same traumatic assault upon their own lives. Each has known during his entire lifetime the effect of deprivation of simple human dignity, whether by thoughtless act or studied deed; each is required to walk in that shadowy world in which move those who are less than men. (Two (2) personal incidents: Alldington and Istanbul)

But, I repeat - what then is the responsibility of Negro leadership?

In the days of the slave regime, the Negro clergyman who preached his other - world doctrine of passive endurance here for assurance of reward hereafter, did

what he thought was good. But this in no way contributed to the elimination of slavery; it helped only to make it more endurable. The unceasing work of abolitionists, ^{of} dedicated people of deep religious conviction and ^{of} people who truly believed in the dignity of the human personality, by their joint efforts made it feasible for President Lincoln to issue the Emancipation Proclamation just 100 years ago. Then, the fight was the one important task of eliminating the blot of human slavery from the Western world.

Over fifty years ago, two different organizations were formed in the Negro world by the joining of hands of dedicated white people and colored people, for separate attacks upon injustice. The National Urban League came into being for the purpose of improving the employment opportunities; housing, health and recreational facilities; and privileges of full citizenship for Negroes coming into urban centers. ~~Findings~~ was the elected role of providing calm, dispassionate, persuasive spokesmanship for the Negro race in America, as their way of gaining recognition and opportunity. For over fifty years, this organization has struggled along with seriously restricted budgets, with painfully inadequate staff, with polite but contemptuous disregard by the majority community, for the human problems embraced in League program proposals. I know, because I spent sixteen years of my life in the discouraging, disheartening effort to gain the

sympathetic ear and the cooperation of businessmen, labor leaders, clergy, educators, police and the whole range of officials, great and small, who represented the outreach of the power-structure of the community. It is extremely difficult to keep Hope alive, when encountering this kind of experience. It is even more difficult for those whose lives are confined physically and spiritually to the lowly, unpromising, sordid limits of the ghetto.

Over fifty years ago, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People came into being, for the purpose of employing the tools fashioned by the architect of this great country, as means of forever protecting Americans from the tyranny to which their forebears had been exposed. Unique in the history of mankind, this organization has ceaselessly waged a war for human liberty without ever resorting to violence; always expressing hope in the rightness of man-made law and its ability, concretely and objectively, to resolve problems associated with the tyranny of racism. Where else in the world has there been this kind of consistent, tireless but intelligently restrained expression of impatience and hope, manifested by a people who historically, here in the Western world, have been classed with the beasts of the field.

For over fifty years, these two organizations through their leadership, have had the task of trying to hold the faith and respect of their followers, while

pounding upon the doors of the conscience of America; and for this period of time, they have had to live with the futility of it all as they watched the tiny, grudging concessions made in response to their pleadings. I know, because more than forty years ago I became an ardent member of the NAACP which fought for years for passage of a civil rights law in my native state, Michigan, in my native city, Lansing, where I was not permitted to enter the ground floor of a movie picture theatre, or buy a sandwich in a restaurant. I know, because then and since, I have had the soul-searing task of trying to earn and to receive the respect, the sympathetic hearing, the cooperative action from public officials, from police, from employers that a spokesman for a disadvantaged group should have, in a free and just society.

Today, we are living increasingly with immediate by-products of the indifference, opposition and contempt with which the efforts of these two organizations have been greeted. Many Negroes, whose anger has reached an irreconcilable level, find the Black Muslim movement to be a satisfying vehicle for their spirit of revolt; many others, without guidance, discipline or restraint, strike out blindly against any symbol of society. They who still retain some modicum of hope, despite discouragement and disillusionment, are stepping up the pace and volume of protest action. Here again, if we will but analyze that which is

happening, these demonstrations are unique and highly significant of the role being played by Negro leadership in its attempt to meet its responsibility.

In all parts of the world, the vanguard of protest movements fighting for human betterment has been composed largely of university youth groups. In America, for whatever combination of reasons, this is rarely true. Identification with social, economic and political issues of the day has been limited largely to organized forum discussions, with social action being almost non-existent. Youthful spirits have been content with "high jinks" expressions such as party-raids, phone booth pile-ups, and such mentally elevating exercises. The college youth from whom the least was expected, who had the most to lose and the least hope of gain, are they who have given the world inspiring demonstrations of purpose, self-discipline, love of fellowmen and faith in the ultimate triumph of decency. Negro youth who have never known the real meaning of Freedom or the inner meaning of a sense of human dignity, have been the ones who have given demonstration of the heights human dignity can attain, even in the face of unbelievable provocation to cause loss of dignity. A profound sense of responsibility, manifested by minority group leadership, has made these demonstrations possible. As I utter this thought, my mind is brought back to a statement made by Dr. Franklin Littell of Chicago Theological Seminary in a speech delivered at the recent Conference on Religion

and Race.^{5/} Said Dr. Liddell:

"What would our situation be in America today, facing our most important internal crisis, if the Negro leadership were at the level of Ross Barnett, Orville Fehms, Jimmy Davis and Edwin Walker?"

I could have countered with reference to our Malcolm X and Elijah Mohammed, but thank God neither of these is in position to determine the course of the entire machinery of law enforcement or operation of a complete educational system - nor have they been so effective as to sway the emotions of so many persons in so many strategic places; - - - at least, not yet!

World events are placing greater responsibilities upon the shoulders of the many levels of minority group leadership, particularly the Negro. The grievances with which he must deal are part of the ferment of a world which has been taught to revolt in violence. Yet, his choice is and has been the alternative of relying upon a system of law which in national perspective is idealistic in the abstract, but which on the local, operational plane frequently is corrupt, biased and arbitrary when reflecting the character of administrators of such caliber.

^{5/} From speech delivered at Chicago Conference on Religion and Race as reported in the Interracial Review. Editorial Page. April 1963.

His patience is tried, not only by the insistent pleas and demands of the group he would lead, and by the constant assaults by the outside world upon the dignity of his own personality, but also by the calloused or thoughtless admonitions of well-meaning majority group persons who, without patience of their own, counsel patience to him who has been the epitome of forbearance and patience.

In our chronic pre-occupation with each other, as the "aggressor" group, we, the Police and the Negro (again serving as symbol and example of minority status and aspirations) may feel that neither of us is in position fully and perceptibly to change community positions or attitudes. In time and with consistent effort we may influence and mold these attitudes, but this is not done by wishing. Neither of us had much voice in the making of the rules, but both of us can help reshape them, if reshaping is called for. Chief Herbert Jenkins of Atlanta, Georgia, was on this platform two years ago, several months before Atlanta took formal steps to integrate its schools. He stated then what he expected of his police force, and of the community, if confronted by this or any similar issues. He had thought and planned and trained his men for such eventuality, and when the test came, he carried his community with him in meeting the test. Whatever may have been the mores of the community - its fears and traditions - they yielded to the influence of a government and its police force,

both of which truly believed in their roles of preserving law and order, and implemented this belief by being prepared to restrain those who would be perpetrators of disorder.

The third area of responsibility therefore is that of the community, its leadership, its organizations, its "power structure". This "community" can be, and frequently is, as cruel in its indifference to its police as it is to its minorities. Only constant vigilance on the part of citizens' groups, including our own, can keep the "community" on course with respect to its responsibilities. These citizens' groups are frequently referred to as "pressure groups." The term is one of opprobrium if applied to some other group with which we are not in sympathy - but all of us, even Police, at one time or another find ourselves in the position of being "pressure groups." It is in this way that the checks and balances of a free, democratic society operate. And - it is in this area that both of us, or all of us representing group interests, bear a double responsibility; the first to ourselves and our interests (in terms of compelling need) and the second, to the conscience and awareness of the larger community. If our society, or "community" if you will, is able to preserve its integrity, fulfill its guarantees of freedom for its citizens, maintain its strength and resiliency and build greater unity for the difficult days ahead, it will be only because there are

enough of us concerned citizens who will be willing to inform, educate, challenge, prod, even shock that community into a sense of its responsibility. I view the community as representing three principle levels or states of mind, as we think in terms of issues, questions or problems confronting us (develop the plus, minus and ? ? ideas) (with little relationship to "right or wrong"). Each one of us can find himself in one of these groups, in an examination of self with respect to the roles each will play.

I am afraid I have rambled, have been obtuse in too many places, have tried to say too many things in the allotted time. If so, I am sorry. What I have hoped to convey is that a sense of responsibility is essential to any man who would be free, but that the measure of the effectiveness of that responsibility, to a considerable degree, is found in the role each of us plays. I have presented the minority group world as Exhibit A in the police task of preserving law and order, first as evidence of society's neglect of its responsibilities, and secondly as the sternest challenge to police in their need to recognize human relations training and active community relations, as an essential part of professional preparation and action. I had hoped to give a factual but believable interpretation of the weight of responsibility resting upon Police, upon minority group leadership and upon society as a whole. I should like to close with the

thought that has been uppermost in my mind. Communication represents our greatest single need, as between police and minority groups; as between police and the community. This needs to be emphasized over and over again. Where communication has failed, there the darkness of suspicion and distrust prevails. An article appearing in the March 1962 Law and Order^{6/} says in one sentence what I have tried to say in these many pages. Presented by two Texas university professors as the Policeman's Eleventh Commandment is this sharply defined responsibility:

"Thou shalt Understand your fellowman and shalt help
him understand you."

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^{6/} LAW AND ORDER, Vol. 10 No. 3, March 1962 - as presented in the Proceedings of
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